4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being doctors. 276 [562]

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture. 796

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants. 789

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow. 249

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches. 754

VI. CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In general the punishment of crime was in the hands of the one aggrieved or of his family. 681

MURDER

The slaying without due provocation of an individual in a personal encounter was avenged by the dead man's relatives, who usually inflicted fatal wounds upon the murderer. If the murderer's family thought that the murder had been committed with just cause they might defend him, in which case a general feud between the two families might ensue. In slaying a murderer, the avenging group made no attempt to employ the same weapon or use it in the same manner as had the murderer. It was enough that he should be killed. Apparently one of the worst crimes one could commit was causing a man's death by shooting a magic "arrow" into his body. 682 [754]

RAPE

Occupying a high place among crimes was that of rape, which did not depend upon consent or lack of consent but upon the age of the girl. The offender was generally punished by being cut with knives, pounded with clubs, and then driven from the tribe as an outcast. In cases of rape it was a rule that the family of the accused should not attempt to shield him from punishment. 684

ADULTERY

A less serious crime was that of adultery, punishment for which was inflicted largely because one had stolen something not belonging to him. It was said: "No matter how brave a man may be, he is not brave when his property (wife) is stolen"; that is, no matter how great his self-restraint and control, spoken of as bravery, he always punished such a crime. Here also there was no attempt on the part of his family or friends to come to his rescue. A severer form of adultery was that in which a man went outside his own village, in which case he might be punished both by the family of the woman in the village where the crime had been committed, and by his own village. He was driven out until he had consecrated many animals, gone on the warpath, taken scalps and offered them to the deities, and waited for the New Fire Ceremony to be held.

THEFT

A thief was one who stole from the members of his own band. 685 [The manuscript is not clear as to whether it was considered per-

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
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able or willing to confer power, and there are some indications that all those recognized as guardians were related to one or another of the four supernatural beings in the west, the messengers of the Evening Star. It was believed that every man passed at birth under the influence of some supernatural being. No one knew who this guardian was, but he would manifest himself later in the man's career. He was usually discovered when the man fell sick during childhood. Medicine men were sent for, and the guardian of the one who was to be able to make the cure was thereby shown to be the guardian of the child. If, on reaching manhood, the boy desired to become a medicine man, he would seek to acquire powers from his guardian.

The powers conferred by the supernatural beings were of three sorts, power to cure the sick, power to perform feats of magic, and power of a third sort, called *pikawiu*, for which there is no equivalent in English. Of these, the curative power was considered by far the most important. The ability to perform feats of magic was simply a tangible evidence that the medicine man possessed the knowledge which would enable him to cure the sick. The third sort of power resembled hypnotism in some of its manifestations. By it the medicine man was enabled to subjugate the will of another to his own and to render his patient passive during ceremonies so that his power could go to the soul of the patient and remove the evil influence which was at the root of the disease. The *pikawiu* power was also likened to an arrow or bullet in its ability to cut off life. Medicine men could throw this power into an enemy as one would shoot an arrow, and the individual attacked in this way was helpless until some other medicine man, who understood the power, exercised his magic to draw it out. Among the Pawnee there was a class of men and women, not true medicine men, who possessed this power and used it for evil

754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were feared and disliked by the better element. Like the medicine men, they were organized into a society, but nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a number of societies which were united by certain secrets which they had in common. In addition to these secrets, which were known to all medicine men, but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society and even each member had individual secrets. The oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine village all of whose members were said to have originally been medicine men. Its members derived their powers from a number of different guardians. In the other medicine societies, which were organized at a later date, all the members derived their powers from the same guardian. A man might become a medicine man as the result of a supernatural experience during which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
[787] guardian. Such experiences were sought through long continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined his guardian, he applied to some medicine man who had derived his powers from that being, and asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils whose wives would remain with him in his booth in the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

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among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of calico.

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or water monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been represented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members, and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was entirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor Association and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

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so that he falls over." In this way Small came to know that these two were bad animals and because of what he had learned about them, he was also able to practice sorcery, as well as to cure sickness. 787

Being friends and small boys together, Small gave freely whatever knowledge he had to Old Bull. Small never lived to carry out the mandate of his vision, but Old Bull did. One day while Small was out tending the horses of the man he served, the Sioux came and took all the horses, shooting Small in the abdomen. He begged his sponsor to throw him in the water so that he could be healed through the animal lodge, but his sponsor, who was very angry because of the loss of all his property, refused to do as Small requested. He cared nothing for the poor boy who was his servant, and having disregarded the boy's request, Small died of his wounds. People felt that the man had been short-sighted as well as cruel. If he had allowed the boy to avail himself of his supernatural powers, he would have been cured of his wounds and grown up to go on the warpath and gotten horses for his sponsor. By being mean, people said, the sponsor had lost everything.

Old Bull grew up and became a prominent man with his teachings. He was the son of a chief, as well, and readily got a place in the chiefs' council. There came a time when the chiefs decided to include in their council the official interpreter of the United States Agency, Behaille, who was of Spanish, French, and Pawnee descent. No doubt this was a politic move, but Old Bull was not satisfied. In the council he referred scornfully to Behaille as "the Mexican." Behaille was not unaware of his hostility and opposition. When they went out on the buffalo hunt and arrived near Grand Island, Behaille stopped off at a small town and drank some whisky, which he immediately vomited up. He thought that he recognized what he had brought up, viz., a witch pellet of a bundle of buffalo hair painted red and containing the sole skin of a corpse's foot. He said, "I know who the sorcerer is. It is Old Bull. Throw the pellet in the fire and burn it up so that it can do no further harm." Then Behaille decided on a further course of action: 754

Next day he asked his wife to make grease bread and coffee and invited several of the chiefs to his house for an informal feast, including Old Bull. When they had all come in, Behaille said, "Now I want you to eat this food. Old Bull, I don't want you to do that again! You tried to witch me and you nearly killed me." Old Bull was ashamed and he just hung his head. As they went out after the feast, people said, "This feast was given because Old Bull witched Behaille. Some fellow would remark, "Well, so Old Bull wanted to witch the Mexican!"

Of course, we don't know how many people he had witched before this, or whether there were any, but now that he was exposed, he

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754 would never be able to do it again. Everyone knew that Old Bull was a witch and he was ashamed.

754 The majority of the doctors and the ones that "witched" among the
756 Pawnee were men, but there were also women who had both kinds of
562 power. Most commonly they had gotten these from their husbands and begun to practice after their husbands died. When a doctor had a woman patient, he had to take his wife along to assist him; in this way she was bound to learn. If she had a son or a daughter, should they show an interest in the bundle, she would teach them. Among the Wichitas, along with
171 the men doctors, there were a great many women, some of them also
754 witches. They could make rain and by witchcraft cause the rain to stop.
756 Among the Pawnees, Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman (*Ts-*
562 *tixkitawi-ra-wa-hu'u*, "woman-give-leader of a warparty-she-distributes them-gives away"), had learned from her husband and it was said that she slept with a rattlesnake under her pillow and could practice witchcraft. In her witchcraft activities she would more or less confine herself to the affairs of women. Sometimes women fought over the boundaries of their land or the stealing of corn and if the quarrel continued over some time and they came to blows, one might be inclined to "witch" the other. But once it happened that Lone Chief was involved in a quarrel and his mother took it over and got into hostility with another woman on account of it. The issue was something about the distribution of horses after a war raid. A man, Frank Leader, felt that Lone Chief's group had obtained an extra horse in the distribution, unjustifiably. Although Frank Leader was not in the party, he was heard to remark that had he been there, Lone Chief would not have gotten away with the horse. This made Lone Chief angry and somehow the women came to discuss it. The issue was taken up between Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman, and the mother of Frank Leader, Lady Lucky Leader, and eventually it shifted to the relative social status of the two women. War Leader Woman cited her unimpeachable aristocratic descent, while Frank Leader's mother was heard to assert that it was no better than hers for she had charge of the Evening Star bundle. Word went around in the gossip channels, and finally Frank Leader got sick and died. Everyone was sure that War Leader Woman's witchcraft was the direct cause of his death. Frank Leader's mother began to curse War Leader Woman. She said, "That's the rottenest thing she could do. Even though her son is a great chief, she still practices witchcraft and kills a man." Some felt that since Lone Chief called Leader's mother, *itahi*, sister, and Frank Leader, therefore, *tiwat*, nephew, in view of the close classificatory kinship, this was really disgraceful. Others were saying, "One shouldn't pick a quarrel with Lone Chief's mother. She's a powerful witch!"

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The services of witches were never for hire, but sometimes an old man could be induced by one of his close relatives to help him forward his fortunes by this means. Everyone knew Brave Chief as a poor boy who had raised himself by his own efforts and finally became a chief, although he had no hereditary status. On his deathbed, Pa-hukata-wa, "Hill-against-the-Bank," a famous chief of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, had designated him to take his place in the chiefs' council.

For many years before that time, Brave Chief had courted Pahukatawa's favor. He had served him and repeatedly gave him gifts. When he came home from the warpath, he would give his horses right to the chief instead of to his own father. He hoped that the chief would make him his official brave. But there was an obstacle to this. The chief's younger brother, Kills-the-Enemy (*Tiukauxki*) had many times expressed himself as being unfit to be a chief as he had a quick temper and was not gentle and judicious in his ways as would befit a chief. So he continued to hold the post of brave to his older brother, Pahukatawa, and Brave Chief was not able to get the post. His brother, continuing to disavow any interest in becoming chief, was not named to take a place in the chiefs' council by Pahukatawa. Rather Brave Chief was named by Pahukatawa on his death bed.

Not everyone was willing to accept the straightforward explanation of Brave Chief's rise to fame through his own industry and merit. Some attributed it to a well-laid plan involving witchcraft. In this view of the matter it was said that while he was still quite young, Brave Chief was very ambitious, and he made a plan with his old father Meat-Offering, to help him rise to power. The surmise was that he went to his father and proposed to him that it would be a good thing if he could become chief before the old man died, and that anyway people would cite it as a case of a poor boy who had raised himself from poverty and low degree, and never suspect their connivance. And so, the interpretation goes, the old man took out his doctor bundle and witched the chief and presently he got sick. Brave Chief stayed around and waited on him during his illness and finally when he was dying, Brave Chief sat down next to the chief's head. Many men were sitting around to hear the last words of Pahukatawa, among them Old Man Meat Offering, Brave Chief's father. Pahukatawa addressed the assembled company and said, "I want my son, Brave Chief, to have my place." "And so," said one of the partisans of this point of view, "this ambitious man became head chief of the village through his father's witchcraft!"

Suspicion of witchcraft was directed toward people known to be ambitious, envious, or frustrated. It was said of one old doctor, Angry Horse, that he was such a good man that he probably never used his witchcraft. "He never got sufficiently angry for that!"

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754 837 Sexual affairs were a common cause of suspected witchcraft activity in both men and women. As witchcraft-prone situations, the following were cited:

Bringing Trophies was an old man married to a very young girl and he was very jealous of her. Joe E was an interpreter and had plenty of money and the girl made advances to him, inducing him to buy her some calico. As she sewed her dress, her husband became suspicious after she was unable to tell him how much the material had cost her. He investigated and finally confronted Joe E who told the old man that it was his business to watch his wife. Finally the young woman and Joe E went off together and although the old man came after them with his bow and arrows, they managed to stay hidden in the timber so that he was unable to get them. Finally the girl left her old husband and, after running around a bit, married a solid citizen of the community and had two children and settled down. If he were so inclined, the old man would be expected to direct an attack of witchcraft against Joe E.

Last-Man-in-the-Road (*Hatuxka*) was inclined to go after Pipe Offering's wife. They were all quite old, but Pipe Offering was the oldest. One day while he was sitting on top of the earth lodge he saw his wife coming home with a bucket of water. It was an accepted sign of consent in courtship when a man contrived to meet a woman on her way home from the creek carrying a bucket of water and requested a drink and was given one. The woman was in a position to signify her disinterest by not responding to his request and simply continue on her way. In this case when Last-Man-in-the-Road stopped Pipe Offering's wife and asked her for a drink, she gave it to him. When she got back to her lodge, Pipe Offering who had been watching, asked, "Who were you talking to?" "That was Last-Man-in-the-Road," she said. "What were you saying?" asked the old man. "He wanted a drink and I gave it to him. Nothing wrong. He said it was too hot." "But," said the suspicious husband, "he was on his way to the creek where he could get his own drink." "Oh, that's nothing," answered the wife. Under these circumstances, Pipe Offering might at some time feel impelled to bewitch Last-Man-in-the-Road and cause him to be sick or do him to death through witchcraft.

[584]

754 Old-Man-That-Chief was apparently a man who felt he had sufficient power to do whatever he wanted and he brooked no interference with his wishes. It was said of him, "He was a big witch!"

Once there was an old woman that he wanted. She refused him. So one night at midnight when everyone was asleep, he took his stick, as he was blind, and felt his way over to her lodge. He had his eaglewing fan and some harmful material that he would "shoot" into her. He stood in front of her lodge waving his buffalo robe back and forth

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until someone in the lodge happened to get up and see him. Then he went home. 754

The next day the woman was sick in her stomach or her intestines. *It seemed she had ague.* But the man who had been up the night before said, "I know who witched her. It isn't ague." When she was dying the woman said, "I see him. He has a fan before his face, but I know him. It is That-Chief!"

Many other dark deeds were attributed to That-Chief, as he was the most learned man in the tribe. He was the tribal historian, high priest of the sacred bundles, outstanding elk doctor, and maker of chiefs in the chiefs' council. One situation was rivalry with another old man, Horse Finder (*Huras*), who was called in on a case of illness and then superseded by That-Chief who reversed the original treatment and substituted some of his own. Horse Finder became angry and refused to continue his treatment of the sick man. 754 756 578 [554]

Now each of these two men had to watch himself. Each would keep careful track of the other to see if he were hovering near. He would sleep with the covers over his head in fear that something would be put down his throat by the other one. Even when they just took a walk, they would have to watch carefully. 754 578

The fight was carried right into the Deer Dance. Horse Finder sat at the northwest station and That-Chief at the northeast. After the spectators had gone a private performance was held after midnight. That-Chief asked to be told where Horse Finder was (both men were blind), and then he lit his pipe in the coals of the fireplace and gave it to Horse Finder to smoke. Horse Finder took a couple of puffs and as in the normal course of events, That-Chief tried to take back the pipe, the bowl came off in his hand and the stem stuck between Horse Finder's teeth. Then That-Chief stamped his feet, first one foot and then the other. This was to stir up Horse Finder's stomach. Finally a lot of soft white feathers came out of the end of the pipe stem, and in this way That-Chief knew that he would not be able to harm Horse Finder by projecting a magical pellet of sharp object into his stomach, for the soft feathers he had inside would protect him.

Now Horse Finder got up to retaliate. He stood before That-Chief, stamping twice with each foot in alternation so that he stepped four times, saying "xi^a, xi^a, xi^a, xi^a (hee^a)," with a grunting tone. Then he said to That-Chief, "What have you been doing to my fish?" Finally everyone could see the tailbones of the fish's skeleton coming out of That-Chief's mouth. Then Horse Finder began to pull it out and the sharp rib bones of the fish cut That-Chief's mouth so that his whole

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754 578 mouth and chest were covered with blood by the time he got it all out. Mainly old men were present at this particular session of the Deer Dance.

796 578 As can be seen from this account, the "fighting" in the Deer Dance was not mere formal ceremonial procedure but an expression of real hostilities between the performers. As the people watched, they understood all these interpersonal nuances and the effect of the "fighting" was something more to them than a mere show of sleight of hand, spectacular as this might be in itself at times.

75 Apparently despite their rivalry, the two old doctors, That-Chief and Horse Finder, were not above combining in a fee-splitting venture at the expense of a wealthy patient. Horse Finder would advise That-Chief that he intended to bewitch a Mr. A and that in a few days he would be sick. Mr. A got sick as expected and first his family would call in the most eminent physician they had, Big Doctor, for A was an important man. The messenger sent to get him would promise him horses, clothing, and food in payment if he would cure the patient. The doctor came in and, after hearing the symptoms, pronounced it a serious illness and very difficult to treat. He agreed to try it for two days and if there were no results he would have to leave the case to someone else. Possibly he thinks the fee offered is not generous enough. Another doctor is asked to come in, the family offering one horse, a chief's medal, blankets, and leggings. But apparently the fee is too small for this new man who feels he should get more if he is to treat an important man like Mr. A. Finally someone in the family says, "Why only one horse? After all if he dies we won't have anything!" Thus the fee is raised. The second man comes, but gives up in two days. Meanwhile the two schemers have been sitting there and stay all night with the sick man ostensibly as a friendly gesture. When the second man gives up, in desperation, the sick man's family looks about for help and their attention happens to fall on That-Chief who is right there, and they offer him three horses and a quantity of goods. After considerable maneuvers with the coaching of Horse Finder who has been the original witch, he gives the patient an emetic and there emerges one of the terrible poison pellets, the heelskin of a human corpse wrapped in buffalo wool, painted red, and tied around with horsehair. By this time, however, the parts have separated and the human skin has softened so that it has caused a lot of trouble to the victim. When this successful conclusion has been reached, That-Chief calls in four other doctors to sing and celebrate the cure. They all have a feast at midnight and go to their homes. The next night That-Chief sends his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, to call Horse Finder to his home and they discuss the final stages of the treatment, Horse Finder telling That-Chief that he should instruct the patient to have nothing but blue corn meal mush for a few

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days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public.

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it.

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they couldn't prove it."

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken.

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the constant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat.

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

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753 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would in-
754 variably find if he searched around for it.
578 The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was
756 sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his new-found animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as
756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each
754 one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee
626 community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no
554 formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have
578 a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal
829 in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The
626 pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

Sorcery

terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social consequences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation. The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was presumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

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• 754 Roaming Leader was standing right behind Might-Be-Chief he stated, but they were all so engrossed that no one saw him. That-Chief said, "It takes time for the capsule to have an effect. At first it just tickles and the person begins to cough and he thinks he must have eaten a piece of hard meat. Then as the bundle unwraps and the heel skin softens, the person gets very thin and dies, just as if he had tuberculosis. The skin gets rather black as if there were something the matter with the veins."

That-Chief was trading his information for White Horse's knowledge of how to make a bear claw enter a subject. White Horse told That-Chief that all he had to do was to cut it off to about a length of about two inches and grease it well and then it was ready for use.

The bear claw is the worst. When one tries to vomit, it just goes down again. When it enters the body, it begins to scratch in the stomach and the person coughs. Only once in a while could one get the bear claw to come out. If it lay crosswise, then it would never get out, and also if it was near the right side of the stomach. But if the doctor could press the stomach so that it would come up the middle, with the point up and outward, it might come out. When the doctor saw such a case, the patient would say, "It seems to come up, then go down again," and the doctor would know what it was. He would say, "It's a pretty hard case, but I'll try it." If he sees no sign that the claw is in the right position, he knows that the man is doomed to die.

[171] The owl was "the worst witcher." It was especially common among the Wichitas. They are afraid of the owl but they use it. Among the Wichitas even today when they are camped, one can hear cackling and growling and they say this is a witches' meeting off somewhere in the moonlight. Big Doctor was eagle and owl doctor. He used the black owl, sending small owl claws into people's stomachs. They are sharp and no one can get them out of the stomach; they stay right there. When they try to bring them up, they can't come out. They choke a person. Big Doctor would also use a human toenail, which he would cut from himself or from anyone else. Victory Call was killed by Big Doctor through owl claws. He began to cough. As he was dying, Victory Call said he saw a person with an eagle-wing fan before his face and that person was Big Doctor who was the cause of his death.

The basis of this suspicion was the fact that Big Doctor was leader of the old established Doctor Lodge and Victory Call of the newer Deer Dance, which had grown to such proportions under his leadership that it was beginning to threaten the exclusive leadership of the Doctor Lodge and to vie with it for membership. Victory Call probably died in 1868 or 1869.

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The course of treatment for That-Chief's pellet which followed a general pattern was as follows: 755

When the doctor was called in he would say, "You seem to have some kind of cold, but something else may be in your stomach. The doctor makes medicine in a big bucket of water. He tells the patient to drink and see if it can come up. (The witch may be in there while they are doctoring this person. He just sits there with his hand before his face as if he were thinking, but he knows what it is.) The patient has to drink a whole lot before he can throw up. Then when he says he has enough, they tickle his throat with a feather, telling him to stand up. Maybe it doesn't come up yet and the doctor tells him, "Take all the medicine." Then at last the person doubles up and the fragments of the witch-pellet come up. The doctor says, "Look, here, this is it. A bad person gave you this." The doctor will recognize that someone sitting there is the culprit, but he remains loyal to his profession and refrains from exposing his "brother-member of the Doctor Lodge." The doctor says, "Throw it (the poison pellet) into the fire," but the witch suggests they throw it outside where he can retrieve it. Someone who knows better finally induces them to burn it up.

Another method of witchcraft poisoning is to mix some material with the pipe tobacco that is offered to a person to smoke. Big Doctor, in addition to owl claws, had mole and weasel powers which were very bad. He had a tiny pipe that he mixed with the excrement of the ground hog, and when a person smokes this he gets sore on his thighs, back or elsewhere. With his weasel powers, Big Doctor would make a weasel skin drink and when anyone passes that he wants to witch he flicks water on him. The weasel causes the person to have night sweats and get weak. 754

In support of his assertion, in 1936 when we visited the Chicago Museum of Natural History, Mark Evans showed us that in the bundle of Big Doctor was a package with a very small pipe inside a weasel skin, also a moleskin and a meteor for the warpath.

There were a few attempts at explanation of disease among the Pawnee that were not supernatural. In the old days it was said that people died when they were old because of injuries they had received while they were still young. When they got old, these injuries revived and killed them. Such diseases would be internal injuries from falling off horses (hemorrhage), smallpox, measles, typhus, and dysentery. 753

An old man got dysentery. It began with a sort of grabbing pains in the legs, then went up and choked you. When his legs began to grab, he

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POSTSCRIPT INTO THE PRESENT

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The Modern Pawnee—Otter's Later Life—the Arrival in Oklahoma—the Fate of Otter's Family and Friends—His Marriage—the Modern Day Pawnee Powwow

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463 SOME MIGHT WONDER how the modern Pawnees came into being, seeing that they are thoroughly integrated citizens of the present United States, many of them living as residents of various urban centers. The Pawnees count among their numbers teachers, artisans, business managers, engineers, journalists, artists, nurses, social workers, professional entertainers, and one former Big League baseball player.

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• 754 Perhaps the fate of some of the principal characters I have mentioned offers a good means of illustrating the process of transition. The boy, Otter, is a good case in point. When he was about seven years old his father, Victory Call, died. He felt he had been bewitched by his anxious rival in the religious field, Big Doctor, leader of the Doctor Association, whose hegemony the success of Victory Call's Deer Dance cult was challenging. In his dying vision, Victory Call saw a man with an eagle-wing fan before his face that he positively identified as Big Doctor.

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[572] White Woman, Grandma, and the boy were given a home by Uncle War Cry in whose house they settled, taking a subordinate position near its eastern end. The old house was left to the other inhabitants. The boy was warned to break off all relationships with his old friends who might insult him with mention of the fact that he had no father. His mother kept him close to the house. He tried to get acquainted with some of the children nearby, but he found it hard.

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587 Two years later, Shot Arm, a brave of Lone Chief's Village-across-a-Ridge, came and sued for his mother's hand. Shot Arm approached War Cry and said, "Victory Call was my uncle and he has a son here. He is as my own son and I'd like to raise him." Finally he was told to speak to

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Lincoln who was the government blacksmith. They invited Shot Arm and the boy to come and live with them. They stayed there for six years and then Shot Arm's sister, Woman White Star, invited them to come and live with her. One winter both Shot Arm and the boy were very ill with a high fever. Fox Chief, his older half brother, came and took the boy to live with him. From there the boy moved from one house to the other, sometimes with Misery, then with War Cry and others. Because of his wandering about, he did not know that his father, Shot Arm, had died. The relatives suspected that his death was due to witchcraft by a member of the family of their old rival, Big Doctor. The feeling was so strong that the agent had an autopsy performed, which showed that Shot Arm had died of an old gunshot wound that had affected his lungs. But the Pawnees were not convinced. And neither was Mark Evarts when he told of it in 1928. During the first five years in Oklahoma, 800 Pawnees died.

Otter's old playmates, David Gillingham and the Coons brothers, had gone to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and they induced him to come along. After his schooling he worked at harness making in Harrisburg, Newark, and Philadelphia. He experienced such wonders as climbing into the arm of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor and playing baseball for a period with the Cuban Giants, a colored team. While he was with them in the South, he was questioned by the authorities "about the grandfather clause." His right hand was permanently broken in baseball, for in those days they played without benefit of a catcher's mitt. He was very lonesome and went home. As he says,

> When I got home from Carlisle, I had no home. My older brother, Fox Chief, War Cry, and Misery had all died. It was cold weather and Behaille (the interpreter) met me on the road and took me in his buggy and gave me a swig of whisky. He offered me a home at his house where Brave Chief, Frank Leader, and Peter Wood were living.

An older woman in Behaille's house befriended him and established a relationship with him. Finally the agency took a hand in his life. The agent said he had made a good record at school and he should settle down. He was trained as a blacksmith and given a position. At last the Riding-In family gave him their daughter, Hannah, in marriage and they set up a farm together and had a daughter. Then Hannah died of tuberculosis and shortly afterward, at the age of twelve, their daughter followed. The farm was lost to the bank as the result of a crop failure and an unpaid loan. This was in 1924. In 1928 this record of old Pawnee life was made with Mark Evarts' help.

When he returned to Pawnee from the east, Mark Evarts had a severe emotional crisis and finally an important religious experience. He returned home permanently in 1897–1898. The Pawnee version of the re-